S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

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[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
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2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

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this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

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An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

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At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

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[498]
The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

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Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

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After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

/179 cont./

121 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation.
125 But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary
871 distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

191 /180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the
871 knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family
125 heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

871 Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading
191 of this table:

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1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[Text continues on p. 37--Analyst]

10: Thoré--36 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37
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Table 14

Ethnic Group		W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Quarters	Il.	45.7	9.1	31.6	20	21.4	37.5	31.5	43.3
	S.	33	27.3	50	60	78.6	50	50	39.5
	L.	21.3	63.6	18.4	20	0	12.5	18.7	17.2
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Districts	Il.	17.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.9
	S.	23.6	0	50	50	--	20	0	28.5
	L.	64.7	100	50	50	--	80	100	66.6
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
General average	Il.	43.8	56	27.28	9.1	78.6	28.5	28.5	40
	S.	32.8	24	50	77	21.4	43	45.8	38.5
	L.	23.4	20	22.72	13.9	0	28.5	25.7	21.5
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Il. = illiterates; S. = summary knowledge of French.

/181 cont./

191 871 academic training.

2) The great difference between the districts and the other quarters: the percentage of literates in the districts is almost four times the corresponding percentage in the quarters.

191 871 563 3) The very special situation of the Moors: they seem distinctly refractory with regard to modern education and do not show any more evidence of an aptitude or a very urgent desire for the study of French. This trait is characteristic of the originality of the Moorish community. It is not merely a sign, however, but is also a factor, and, as such, it contributes strongly to the withdrawal of this community and to its cultural isolation in the midst of the nascent urban civilization. The Moor has managed to integrate himself in the city -- it would be more accurate to say thrust himself into the city -- without changing his habits of life very much and by keeping intact the compact homogeneity of the group.

191 It is likewise necessary to note another tendency, although less obvious than the preceding ones: the Wolof and Sérère family heads who do not speak French are superior in number to those who speak it; this proportion is, on the contrary, reversed in the other ethnic groups. One must probably seek the cause of this variation in the fact that Pikine is a city close to the Wolof regions and that Wolof is the lingua franca there. The Toucouleur, Bambara, Soussou /Susu/, or Mossi come from much farther away, they have often "labored" in several places before ending up in Dakar, and this experience has not failed to give them some rudiments of French acquired in the course of their previous migrations.

191 871 The evaluation of the preceding results, no longer according to ethnic group but according to age class, gives other indications which at the same time indirectly confirm the above remark. /Table 15 appears here./

/182/ The percentage of literates in proportion to the whole of an age class decreases in proportion to the increase in age. There are proportionately six times more young

/182 cont./

Table 15

Age Class	20-30	30-50	50 +
Illiterate	38.7	34.1	60.2
Summary knowledge	6.5	41.9	30.6
Literate	54.8	24	9.2
Total	100	100	100

people than old who have received a beginning of academic training. Besides, the young people from 20 to 30 years old have either been to school or do not know French because they have not had occasion to learn it outside of school. Thus the generations show a distinct difference, and this can only become more pronounced as an examination of the actual number of pupils enrolled shows.

Here is first the table of the attendance ratio; it refers to children from seven to 14 years old, divided by ethnic groups and sex. /Table 16 appears here./

A comparison with the results of the same inquiry, conducted the preceding year, despite the possible variations of the sampling, indicates distinct progress for the girls, from 62.5% to 82.6% for the boys, and an average of from 45.3 to 63.9. Nevertheless, a great effort must still be made, especially on the part of the female population, since one girl out of two still does not go to school. Let us now distinguish the attendance ratios in the districts and in the quarters. /Table 17 appears here./

/183/ The difference is great between the school behavior of the districts and that of the quarters. First the total: almost all of the children in the districts go to school, nine out of ten, while this proportion drops to three out of five in the quarters.

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 795 162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 162 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

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Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

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/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

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Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

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VI. Habitat and Family

128 After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

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121 Fashion, from a subjective point of view, represents a fleeting custom that depends on the taste and the whims of individuals. Its range of application is universal. It is thus a social and aesthetic phenomenon of the same order as painting, from which it borrows much.

Like all expressions of art, fashion is a language and a magic. It is also a technique, the different aspects of which may be grouped in three categories: the fabrication of the objects (fabrics and garments), the methods of sale, and the motivations for the purchase.

For the social psychologist the problem of the adaptation of the African to European fashions presents itself.

125 Among the various possible methods of investigation, our choice was directed first of all to direct observations and the method of tests. We have taken into consideration both the ethnic origin and the age of the subjects.

I. Female African Population of Dakar

162 1. Resident population on 6-1-55.

We ascertained:

a) the very distinct predominance of the Wolof group (47.8%),

b) the weak representation of the Sérèr and Diola in relation to the Bambara.

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2. Characteristics of this population:

[191] [212] a) Knowledge of French (14 years old and +):

4,844 women and girls speak our language (2,850 of them write it).

162 463 [294] [386] b) Salaried occupations in crafts and business (14 years old and +):

3,779, of whom: sewing, dressmaking, lingerie, clothing 609

preparation, dyeing..... 142

[12 cont.]

369 178 [584] [581] [562] always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Although this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls [587] have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long 369 178 562 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table [191] in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French. They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution, and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which, within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the [595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [evoluées] women generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to [578] buy finery other than that which he periodically distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination.

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

/84 cont./

442 443 iron for cement, tires...piled loosely together. The activity of these branches is based on three elements: retail with a sales store open to the average customers, wholesale granted to the important factoreries (Levantines...), and wholesale to the small shopkeepers for retail. Each is furthermore an implement dealer with exclusive right of sale granted to them: frigidaires, motor fuel, automobiles...The figure [433] for the monthly business of one of them fluctuated between 20 and 25 million in 1953.

443 An intermediate type of commerce was established a [563] short time ago with the arrival of the Moroccans; they [162] numbered 25 in 1952. /85/ Some among them attempt to [438] corner both the European and native clientele. They special- [191] ize in the sale of fabrics and fancy articles for Africans: babouches, fezzes, cheap watches. They speak the native language fluently and sometimes French extremely well.

The Africans, as we have seen, have launched into private business since 1920. Some of them have a factorerie of the Levantine type, but most of them have opened a shop in the outlying quarters. The Moors and the Blacks share this small-scale commerce: in 1952 the former reached the figure of 120; the Blacks were perhaps as numerous. They [347] are installed in the small shops of boards or mud roofed with straw or with corrugated metal. On the counter, made up of a simple board, stands a Roberval scale, some jars of large multicolored bonbons, a pasteboard box filled with dry biscuits. The bag of charcoal on the floor stands beside a tin of kerosene. Some cola nuts kept fresh in a wrapping of leaves still green, a kilo of sugar broken open, which is sold by the lump, some packages of cigarettes sold by the unit, and small cans of condensed milk give a glimpse of the small volume of their business.

To complete this picture, let us add the innumerable small "doorstep" merchants who on a piece of cloth or in a calabash display a few handfuls of roasted peanuts and cola nuts, a package of cigarettes, or millet fritters. These small stalls are all located in front of the door of the hut;

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [484] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended [493] for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

S /89 cont./
369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
484 land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
191 new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
529 Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
578 metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
477 tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
162 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
369 rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
162 geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
369 sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
563 statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.